

## Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PA-02

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O 251330Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2977

USIA WASHDC

INFO USINFO WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN JOSE 0939

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FOR: STATE FOR S/PRS, DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR GENERAL SCOWC

UOFT;

WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN; USINFO FOR IBS/PL AND IPS/PL;

USIA FOR ILA AND IOF.

E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPTION OF KISSINGER PRESS CONFERENCE, SAN JOSE,  
FEBRUARY 24, 1976

DR. KISSINGER: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I SIMPLY WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY VERY DEEP APPRECIATION TO THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER OF COSTA RICA FOR THE VERY WARM RECEPTION WE HAVE HAD HERE, AND FOR ARRANGING THE MEETING WITH MY COLLEAGUES FROM THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS, WHO ALSO HAVE HAD THE COURTESY OF COMING TO THE AIRPORT TO SEE ME OFF. I AM EXTREMELY PLEASED WITH THE MEETINGS THAT WE HAVE HAD AND I THINK IT WAS A VERY FITTING END TO MY TRIP THROUGH LATIN AMERICA WHICH I AM CONFIDENT WILL LEAD TO THE STRENGTHENING OF TIES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. NOW I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE SOME QUESTIONS, BUT I WOULD LIKE FIRST TO TAKE SOME QUESTIONS FROM THE COSTA RICAN PRESS OR OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN JOURNALISTS PRESENT, AND THEN AFTER WE HAVE TAKEN SOME OF THOSE, I WILL RECOGNIZE ONE OR TWO OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINGENT

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WHO ARE HERE TO PROVE, TO DEMONSTRATE, THE INTENSITY

WITH WHICH WE CONDUCT OUR INTERNAL DEBATES.

REPORTER: MR. SECRETARY, THE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE OVERTHROW OF THE ALLENDE REGIME IN CHILE HAS INDICATED THAT YOU WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN THIS PROCESS DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. GIVEN THE RESULTS OF SOME OF THE FINDINGS OF THIS COMMITTEE WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK WHAT IS YOUR OPINION WITH REGARD TO THE CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES?

DR. KISSINGER: AS I HAVE HAD OCCASION TO POINT OUT REPEATEDLY IN THE UNITED STATES, SEVERAL OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES GET CARRIED AWAY IN THEIR FINDINGS WHEN THEY DEAL WITH PERSONALITIES.

IN ANY EVENT, THE SENATE COMMITTEE SPECIFICALLY FOUND THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT GENERATE THE OVERTHROW OF THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT COUNTRIES SHOULD DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE FREE OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION.

REPORTER: THE SENATE HAS VETOED ANY PARTICIPATION OR INTERVENTION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE MILITARY AREA IN THE EVENTS IN ANGOLA. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SIR, WHAT IS YOUR OPINION WITH REGARD TO THE ROLE OF THE SENATE IN THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND HOW DOES THIS AFFECT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IN THIS AREA?

DR. KISSINGER: I DON'T THINK IT IS APPROPRIATE FOR ME IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY TO ENGAGE IN A DEBATE OVER THE SENATE. I WILL SAY HOWEVER, THAT WHAT THE US WAS CONCERNED ABOUT IN ANGOLA WAS THE MASSIVE INTERVENTION OF A CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE AND THE DISPATCH OF LARGE QUANTITIES OF SOVIET EQUIPMENT WHICH HAVE TRANSFORMED WHAT WAS A MINORITY FACTION IN ANGOLA INTO THE DOMINANT FACTION. SO THAT WHAT WE ARE SEEING HERE IS THE IMPOSITION BY FOREIGN FORCE OF A MINORITY GROUP AS THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. WE DID NOT OPPOSE ANY OF THE GROUPS IN ANGOLA AS LONG AS THEY REACHED THEIR OBJECTIVES BY AFRICAN METHODS, OR WITHIN AN AFRICAN

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CONTEXT.

SECONDLY, WE DID NOT ASK FOR AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION BUT RATHER FOR MONEY TO SUPPORT BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE CUBAN ADVENTURE. WE BELIEVE THAT A MISTAKE WAS MADE AND WE ARE NOW CALLING THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF OTHER COUNTRIES TO THE GLOBAL CONSEQUENCES OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

REPORTER: MR SECRETARY, IN THE EFFORTS TO REFORM THE OAS CHARTER THE US HAS TAKEN A POSITION CONTRARY TO THE CONCEPT OF INTRODUCING INTO A REFORMED CHARTER, THE MATTER OF ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE LA COUNTRIES. IN YOUR SPEECH IN CARACAS ANNOUNCING A NEW PATH IN RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA, CAN WE TAKE THIS TO MEAN THAT THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE OF HEART ON THE PART OF THE US AND THAT THE US NOW WOULD APPROVE OF INCORPORATING THE CONCEPT IN A NEW TREATY OF THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THESE NATIONS.

DR. KISSINGER: OUR OBJECTION HAS BEEN THAT THE PHRASE "COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY" IS A VERY VAGUE AND LOADED PHRASE WHICH CAN BE USED FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES BY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO ALL THESE ISSUES, AS WAS EXPRESSED AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IS TO DEAL WITH CONCRETE PROBLEMS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE AND COOPERATIVE MANNER. WITH RESPECT TO THE RELATIONSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICAN I OFFERED IN CARACAS, AND I REITERATED IT AGAIN HERE TODAY, COOPERATION ON TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY, COOPERATION ON A CODE OF MULTINATIONAL COOPERATION, ASSISTANCE TO THE HEMISPHERE; I CALL AGAIN ATTENTION TODAY TO MY COLLEAGUES FROM THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS, TO THE IMPORTANT PROPOSAL MADE BY THE COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER YESTERDAY FOR A SPECIAL STUDY OF TRADE RELATIONS WITHIN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. ALL THESE CONCRETE MEASURES WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE, BUT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT GENERAL SLOGANS THAT CAN BE USED IN UNPREDICTABLE MANNERS.

LAST QUESTIONS FROM THE LATIN SIDE AND THEN I'LL TAKE TWO QUESTIONS FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN SIDE.

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REPORTER: MR. SECRETARY, IT WAS ONCE SAID DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION THAT WERE BRAZIL GOES, SO GOES THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA.

DO YOU THINK THAT BRAZIL AS A COUNTRY IS THE BEST EXAMPLE, AS A NATION, FOR LAIN AMERICA? AND THE SECOND QUESTION, BY WHAT MEANS DO YOU THINK THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT COULD BRING ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY THE LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS COULD RECEIVE MORE REVENUES OR MORE EQUITABLE PRICES FOR THE COMMODITY EXPORTS UPON WHICH THEY DEPEND PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF THE MORE NEEDY NATIONS.

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2978

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN JOSE 0939

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FOR: STATE FOR S/PRS, DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT;  
WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN; USINFO FOR IBS/PL AND IPS/PL;  
USIA FOR ILA AND IOD.

DR. KISSINGER: WITH RESPECT TO BRAZIL OR ANY OTHER  
COUNTRY, THE US WILL NOT OR CANNOT APPOINT ANY ONE  
COUNTRY AS THE LEADER OF LA. THE US IS PREPARED TO HAVE  
SPECIAL CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH ANY NATION  
OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WHERE OUR RELATIONSHIPS  
HAVE REACHED A LEVEL OF COMPLEXITY OR INTENSITY  
WHERE SUCH RELATIONSHIPS ARE NECESSARY. BUT EVEN WHEN  
WE HAVE THESE SPECIAL CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS,  
THEY ARE NOT MEANT TO THE EXCLUSION OF HEMISPHERIC  
TIES, AND THEY ARE NOT INTENDED TO CONFER A SPECIAL  
POSITION OF LEADERSHIP ON ANY ONE COUNTRY. SECONDLY,  
I HAVE SPOKEN AT EVERY STOP ABOUT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES  
WHICH GOVERN THE US CONDUCT IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE,  
AND THE BASIC VALUES FOR WHICH THE US STANDS, WHICH  
INCLUDE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOR THE DIGNITY  
OF THE INDIVIDUAL. WITH RESPECT TO COMMODITIES, THE  
US HAS DECLARED ITS WILLINGNESS TO HAVE CASE-BY-CASE  
COMMODITY STUDIES, AND HAS ALREADY AGREED TO SIGN  
THE COFFEE AGREEMENT AND SIGNED THE TIN AGREEMENT  
AND WE ARE PREPARED TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS ON OTHER COMMODITIES.  
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REPORTER: MR. SECRETARY, RABBI BARUCH WHO IS WELL KNOWN IN THE US AS A FRIEND OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S SAID TODAY CONCERNING MR. NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA: "I DON'T THINK HE REALLY WANTED TO GO NOW, BUT THE CHINESE WANTED THE TRIP TO COINCIDE WITH THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS VISIT, AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT VIEWED THIS AS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN ABOUT THE POLITICAL FERMENT IN CHINA". DID YOU OR ANY OFFICIAL OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN ANY WAY GIVE MR. NIXON THIS IMPRESSION, OR IN ANY WAY URGE HIM TO GO TO CHINA?

DR. KISSINGER: I'LL SAY THREE THINGS. ONE, IT IS NOT A PARTICULARLY ELEVATING EXPERIENCE TO BE FORCED TO EXHIBIT OUR DOMESTIC TORMENTS BEFORE FOREIGN AUDIENCES, AT EVERY STOP. TWO, I DID NOT KNOW, NOR DID ANYONE ELSE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE UNTIL AN HOUR BEFORE THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE, OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLANNED TRIP TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THREE, WE WELCOMED THE STATEMENT BY THE ACTING PREMIER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA REAFFIRMING THEIR CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND IN THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

REPORTER: MR. SECRETARY, I WONDER IF I MIGHT JUST FOLLOW THAT UP BY THIS POINT. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT YOU DID SEE MR. NIXON JUST BEFORE HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE TRIP WOULD TAKE PLACE. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT ANYTHING YOU MIGHT HAVE SAID WOULD GIVE HIM THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE UNITED STATES FOR HIM TO GO?

DR. KISSINGER: NO, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, AND I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON. WE WILL TAKE ONE MORE QUESTION ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

REPORTER: MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID THAT YOUR LATIN AMERICAN TOUR IS NOT AN ANTI-CUBA CAMPAIGN AND YOU HAVE ALSO SAID THAT CUBA HAS BEHAVED RESPONSIBLY IN THE HEMISPHERE IN RECENT YEARS. YET TODAY YOU SEEMED TO BRING THE SPECTER OF CUBAN INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA. DO YOU HAVE ANY INDICATION THAT THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO

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RENEW ITS ACTIVITIES IN THIS AREA, OR WAS IT JUST RHETORIC?

DR. KISSINGER: I CALLED ATTENTION TO THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN WHICH NO GROUP OF NATIONS IS MORE

INTERESTED THAN THE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, EACH  
OF WHOM IS INDIVIDUALLY WEAK WITH RESPECT TO OUTSIDE  
INTERVENTION, AND EACH OF WHOM IS DEPENDENT ON THE PRINCIPLE  
OF ANY SPECIFIC INDICATION, OF ANY SPECIFIC ACTION  
THAT IS BEING PLANNED, BUT IT IS TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT THE  
US ATTITUDE IS FOR CONTINGENCIES THAT MIGHT ARISE BUT  
HAVE NOT YET OCCURRED.

I'M AFRAID I AM ALREADY LATE FOR MY PLANE AND I WANT  
TO THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH FOR THE RECEPTION I'VE HAD HERE.  
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